UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

The President and the Supreme Court - - - - - - - - *John Haynes Holmes*

And Satan Came Also Among Them - - - - - - - - - *Ernest M. Whitesmith*

A True American Policy Toward Spain - - - - - - - - *Donald G. Lothrop*

An International Magna Charta for Women - - - - - - - - *Lola Maverick Lloyd*

Liberalism and World Crisis - *Edwin H. Wilson*

TRUMPETS ON NEW HORIZONS

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Jawaharlal Nehru Speaks on Spain

We quote the following paragraphs from the Presidential Address of Mr. Nehru at the 50th session of the Indian National Congress, at the village of Faizpur in December, 1936:

"In Spain today our battles are being fought and we watch this struggle not merely with the sympathy of friendly outsiders, but with the painful anxiety of those who are themselves involved in it. We have seen our hopes wither and a blank despair has sometimes seized us at this tragic destruction of Spain's manhood and womanhood. But in the darkest moments the flame that symbolizes the hope of Spanish freedom has burnt brightly and proclaimed to the world its eventual triumph. So many have died, men and women, boys and girls that the Spanish Republic may live and freedom might endure. We see in Spain, as so often elsewhere, the tragic destruction of the walls of the citadel of freedom. How often they have been lost and then retaken, how often destroyed and rebuilt.

"I wish, and many of you will wish with me, that we could give some effective assistance to our comrades in Spain, something more than sympathy, however deeply felt. The call for help has come to us from those sorely stricken people and we cannot remain silent to that appeal. And yet I do not know what we can do in our helplessness when we are struggling ourselves against an imperialism that binds and crushes.

"So I would like to stress this organic connection between world events, this action and interaction between one and the other. Thus we shall understand a little this complicated picture of the world today, a unity in spite of its amazing diversity and conflicts. In Europe, as in the Far East, there is continuous trouble, and everywhere there is ferment. The Arab struggle against British imperialism in Palestine is as much a part of this great world conflict as India's struggle for freedom.

"In the world today . . . two great forces strive for mastery — those who labor for democratic and social freedom and those who wish to crush this freedom under Imperialism and Fascism. In this struggle Britain, though certainly not the mass of the British people, inevitably joins the ranks of reaction. The struggle today is fiercest and clearest in Spain, and on the outcome of that depends war or peace in the world in the near future, fascist domination or the scorching of Fascism and Imperialism."

American League for India's Freedom
112 East 19th Street,
New York City.

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXIX MONDAY, APRIL 5, 1937 No. 3

HISTORY

"Amid the accidents and confusions of history, men criticize events from their immediate results; they instinctively resent the loss of anything that is dear to them; and they stand continually in dread of an utter and final extinction, amid the suspense and vicissitudes of an age that is slowly dying and an age that is coming to birth. For the fitful and mysterious movements of history are like the alternations of day and night in the far northern summer—a long, almost endless day, a long twilight, then the extinction of all the visible world in the total darkness of a brief midnight; then again the long twilight of morning, heralding the dawn of a new light over the world. But when he has lived through the splendor and sunshine of a familiar civilization and watched its slow decline in the darkness, man thinks that the light is quenched forever, and turns back in a blind and instinctive despair to worship the sun of a vanished day."

—Guglielmo Ferrero, in *The Greatness and Decline of Rome*, Vol. I.

STEEL AND LABOR

One has to give it to John L. Lewis and the C. I. O. When has labor won such victories as those recently recorded in the automobile and the steel industries? For years the A. F. of L. has tried in vain to make a dent upon the former. The story of the latter is one of the great and terrible stories in the history of American labor. And now, within a few weeks, victory is suddenly won on both fronts! Lewis must have had much to do with it, for victories of this kind are never achieved without leadership. The industrial as contrasted with the old craft type of union organization must also have played its part. This type makes for efficiency in labor as well as strength. "If steel wanted to make terms with the unions," asked one inquirer recently, "why didn't it deal with Green and the A. F. of L.?" "Because," came the reply, "if steel had undertaken to do business with Green, it would have had to make contracts with a dozen or more different unions. With Lewis it meets with one union, writes one contract, has one agreement." The C. I. O., in other words, is as advantageous for capital as for labor itself. But the really important element in this amazing situation is a new public mind toward the whole question of labor and its right to organize in protection of its own interests. Think of the days of the old steel strike, which was lost. Go back of that to the Homestead strike, a fire which was quenched in blood. Then look around you today! This nation has entered upon what Dorothy Thompson well calls "a new epoch." The old days of battle, of strikes and lockouts, of spies and thugs, of the destroying of property, and the taking of life—these days are gone, or are fast going. We are catching up with England and the Scandinavian countries, where trade unions have long since been taken for granted. The next step should be the organization of a labor party not unlike the British Labor Party in Great Britain.

HOUSING—OH, FOR ANOTHER DICKENS!

It is difficult to express the degree of weariness we feel whenever the subject of housing comes up for discussion. Not that we are opposed to new housing for the millions in this country who have no decent homes! On the contrary, we can think of no one reform quite so desperately needed today as housing. And let it be said that the failure of Mr. Roosevelt to do anything substantial about housing, in a period when unparalleled sums of public money were being spent for anything and everything under the sun, must ever stand as one of the crowning disgraces of his administration. Such failure is only one illustration of what we mean when we say that we grow indescribably weary whenever we hear discussions of this topic. It's just like the weather, of which Mark Twain immortally said that "everybody complains about it, but nobody does anything." Oh, that we had a Dickens to write up the housing problem in this country as he actually wrote up the Courts of Chancery and the Circumlocution Office in Victorian England! Round and round the housing projects go, from local to federal offices, from legislative to executive boards, from public to private agencies, and, unlike the music of our time, they come out nowhere. Delay, delay, delay—and at the end of years of discussion, nothing done! It is not so in other countries! Germany and Austria have developed housing projects which are the admiration of the world. Russia has done nothing more assiduously and successfully than providing homes for the people. England was as badly off at the close of the Great War as we are today, but in recent years millions of pounds expended

by the government have provided hundreds of thousands of comfortable, attractive, and inexpensive homes for the working population. The Scandinavian countries and Holland are likewise well in the van of progress. What is the matter with this country that we stand still and do nothing? It's all right talking about the rights of labor, and adequate relief for the unemployed, and soil conservation, and reform of the courts, and what not, but until we see some genuine endeavor to do away with the city tenements and rural shanties which shelter a third of the families of this nation, and put some real homes in their places, we shall simply refuse to take the boasted New Deal seriously.

BALDWIN THE FASCIST

Behold the skill with which Premier Baldwin has been holding up the international blockade of Spain! And behold how Premier Blum, the Socialist, coöperates with his Tory brother of England! That the non-intervention conference withheld action for so many months is one of the supreme scandals of this age of scandals. Months have passed since the so-called neutral nations got their heads together—precious months during which men and munitions from Italy and Germany poured into General Franco's camp, and victory of the Rebel cause was patiently awaited. But the Loyalists had ideas not altogether consistent with those of London and Rome and Berlin, and Franco's victory never came. At last, for very shame, the non-interventionists had to act, and the blockade of the peninsula was duly announced. But the initial date was put safely in the future, a good month away, that Franco might get the final reënforcements to clinch his cause. But still, in spite of the fall of Malaga, Madrid held out. So then the beginning of the blockade was postponed for still another month, and, as we write, despatches tell of Franco's preparations for a spring drive against the capital, with thousands of men landing in Spain from Italy. It's a disgusting spectacle, as most things are in the international world these days. We can understand Baldwin, with his Tory interests, and his desire to hold the line of empire in the Mediterranean. It is possible to understand Russia, for while communications are open, she can send aid to the Loyalists. But we can't understand France, democratic France—unless it is that Blum is so beset by troubles at home that he is willing, or indeed forced, to make any terms with Britain to keep her standing by. Meanwhile, Spain remains the same perfect tragedy that she has been from the beginning. In spite of all that has happened in twenty years, it still seems incredible that in a so-called civilized world such savagery can be our lot.

FRANCE AND THE FRANC

We do not pretend to know much about the recent financial crisis in France. Like Will Rogers, in such matters "all we know is what we read in the papers"; and in this case we read that Premier Blum has had to reverse his whole Socialistic policy and resort to desperate measures to save the franc. The significance of this episode, happily survived through the floating of a loan in terms of a balanced budget, resumption of gold payments, etc., is to be found in the fact that the crisis shed a lurid and at the same time penetrating light upon the economic situation in Europe. It is not only the fascist countries which are in distress, but others as well! The straits of Italy and Germany, though unknown, must be desperate. What else but impending economic disaster could occasion the recent announcement of Mussolini that civilian life must yield utterly to military? Martial law, in other words, to subdue the people in their increasing distress! In Germany every sign indicates a rapidly approaching economic debâcle. This constitutes the most serious menace of war, for Hitler will surely seek relief without before he will allow a crash within. And now France sways before the flight of gold, the uncertain future of the franc, and the need of cash for her continuing armament program! It is this armament race, of course, which lies at the heart of the whole wretched business. Imagine the peoples of these various countries relieved of this monstrous burden of expense. Imagine trade agreements providing for a fair exchange of goods. Imagine an equitable sharing of raw materials—the problem now being considered by the League of Nations. Imagine the workers freed from armament manufacture to give their toil to serve the needs of men. This would stabilize a continent now headed straight for ruin. But it means a wholly new economy built not on national but on international lines. For no land, like no man, liveth unto itself.

INDIA AND THE ELECTIONS

The results of the India elections must end forever the ridiculous idea, all too current here in the West, that independence sentiment in India has subsided in recent years, and been weakened by the Empire's successful determination to get the new Federal Constitution established. The electoral returns now indicate a smashing triumph for the Congress Party, which is unqualifiedly opposed to the Constitution and insistent upon complete independence from the British crown. This victory is a glorious triumph for India's great and devoted political leader, Jawaharlal Nehru. What will now happen should quickly become apparent, as the provisions of the new Constitution affecting the provincial

legislatures, and the executives responsible to them, are to become operative at just this time (April 1st). Britain of course hopes and prays for coöperation. But the Congress Party, at its meeting last December, reaffirmed its "entire rejection [of the] Constitution that has been imposed on India against the declared will of the people of the country," and its conviction that "any coöperation with this Constitution is a betrayal of India's struggle for freedom." This marks the way with clearness, and the way will be followed with courage. This is assured not merely by the Party's pledge, but also by Nehru's fiery zeal and Gandhi's rock-like determination.

WHY BE ASHAMED?

The *Peace Record* of New Zealand is shocked at "the unrestrained earnestness with which some of the church dignitaries repudiate any pacifist leanings." It quotes the moderator of the Presbyterian Assembly as stating poudly that "not more than two or three per cent of the Presbyterians are pacifists." What is true in New Zealand is true in large measure also here—and truer every hour as the prospect of a war draws near and ever nearer. It would seem as though "pacifism" and "pacifist" were words of opprobrium, to be shunned as one would shun some dreadful insult. What can the reason be? This reason cannot lie in the origin of the words. "Pacifism" comes from "pax," meaning "peace," and from "facio," meaning to "act" or to "do." "Pacifism," in other words, by derivation means to do something about peace—surely, not a disgraceful thing. Neither can the reason lie in the history or usage of these words, for "pacifism" and "pacifist" apply to that great organized movement for peace which is today a power in the world, and is associated with some of the most heroic and truly martyred souls of all time. To be numbered in such company is an ineffable distinction. No, there must be some other reason why men are reluctant to touch, or be touched, by these epithets, and we seem to find this reason in their rigorous moral content. To be a "pacifist" means to believe something, and to be ready to serve this something at any price. It implies conviction, resolute principle, uncompromising idealism. It embodies all of the crusading spirit and purpose. Now, it is just these attitudes which are today quite out of fashion. Morality, or the idea that one should do a thing because it is right, or because it serves rightly some righteous end—all this went out with the War, and has never come back. Today one is not expected to have any convictions—such things are awkward, disagreeable, ugly. They disturb tranquility, and lay stress upon that most painful of all sensations—*duty!* In this age it is the expedient thing which is popular, because it is easy. Compromise is welcome because it is gracious and kindly. The end justifies any means, if only it doesn't make any trouble. All of which outlaws pacifism! For pacifism means business. It makes war on war because war is evil. And it refuses to compromise or surrender.

Jottings

Field Marshal von Mackensen urges the German youth to be good Christians, because "the real German soldier must be a good Christian." A good Christian in the sense that he must kill, destroy, hate, and do all savage things expected of a soldier! If this is Christianity, what is barbarism?

Having disposed of Zinoviev and Kamenev and Radek and Tomsky, Stalin now proposes to "get" Rykov and Bukharin. Well, this is one way to hold power—butcher your enemies! But it has little relation to democracy and a better world.

The Pullman Company has purchased $100,000 worth of New York World's Fair bonds. Why not $1,000,000 worth? It's just a matter of business.

"On which side are you going to fight (on the Supreme Court issue)? Are you going to fight standing beside Bishop Manning * * * the *Herald-Tribune*, the Liberty League, and William Randolph Hearst?"—Heywood Broun, in the *Nation*.

Or standing beside the President of Harvard, the President of Princeton, Raymond Moley, Morris Ernst, Samuel Seabury, and Mr. Justice Brandeis. And as for "strange bedfellows," Heywood, what about your crowd—"Jim" Farley, "Joe" Robinson, Tammany Hall, and "Boss" Hayes. Be careful about throwing stones!

One of the mysteries of the peace movement has ever been the question as to what the Carnegie Peace Foundation does with its money. Now we know! It has written and published a political and economic history of the World War in 152 volumes. So—the way to prevent the next war is to write the history of the last one!

Austin Chamberlain missed the British premiership in just the way his father did. Is there doom upon a Chamberlain in British politics? What befalls Neville in the next few months will answer the question.

J. H. H.

The President and the Supreme Court*

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

I am speaking tonight, on this question of the President and the Supreme Court, as a liberal—a liberal who has all his life sought progress, larger liberty, and more abundant life for the people of this country. I am opposing the President's proposed reform of the Supreme Court as a liberal—a liberal who would have this nation take no backward step on its way toward that "rendezvous with destiny," of which the President himself has told us. These are serious times, which call for statesmanship of a fundamental and rigorously constructive type. Mr. Roosevelt in this matter has not given us such statesmanship.

That we face a real problem in the matter of the Supreme Court, no liberal mind can deny. This problem involves the kind of crisis that is bound to appear, in any political situation, after a long period of rapid social change. The nineteenth century transformed human life in society more completely than any other century in history. New methods of transportation, new forms of industry, new systems of economic relationship, new forces of social control have made over the nation into a pattern of novel and intricate complexity, and now demand a type of legislation, in the interest of the common welfare, undreamed of a generation ago. In the way of this legislation stands, first, the Constitution, the most remarkable document of its kind in history, but the product, nevertheless, of an eighteenth century civilization. Is it surprising that learned men have decided that legislation passed today by Congress is inconsistent with the provisions of that charter? Standing in the way, also, is the high Court itself, which by its very nature of life-tenure in office must feel much more slowly the swift changes of social life than any other branch of our government. Stability of thought in the Supreme Court, long perpetuated, must constitute an obstacle to progress not found in any other institution of state. The nicety of adjustment, in other words, between the Executive, the Legislative, and the Judicial, as conceived by the Federal Convention, is liable to be thrown out of balance, as it is today. The Court now outweighs the other two coördinate branches of government, with the result that movement is stopped on the highroad of progress!

This situation of disharmony became acute in the vast emergencies of President Roosevelt's first administration. Important measures enacted by the administration were declared null and void, either because they were in conflict with the hard-and-fast terms of the Constitution, or because the Supreme Court could not see that they were not in conflict with these terms. In anticipation of continued disharmony, the Democratic Party in its 1936 platform, which was "heartily subscribed" to by the President, definitely promised the people that it would seek, as it had sought, to meet the pressing national problems of the hour "through legislation within the Constitution"; and that, "if these problems could not be effectively solved by such legislation," the Party would seek "clarifying amendment" of the Constitution. Thus, said the platform, "we propose to maintain the letter and spirit of the Constitution."

The nature of such "clarifying amendment," to the end of adjusting the functions of the Court to the new conditions of the times, may be various. I myself believe in an amendment definitely extending the power of Congress, in just the way specified by this same Democratic platform of 1936—namely, "to regulate commerce, protect public health and safety, and safeguard economic security." I would also support the O'Mahoney amendment, or the Wheeler-Bone proposal. But the precise details of the "clarifying amendment," or amendments, need not concern us. The important thing is the method itself. Here is the method of change provided by the Constitution. It is the method which has been resorted to in every great crisis of the nation's life. It is the method pledged by the Democratic Party and its candidate to the people. It is the mandate of the people laid upon the President, and accepted by him, in the most impressive electoral triumph in the history of the republic.

Who could have imagined that this mandate would be ignored or flouted by the President? How is it credible that the President could make "a scrap of paper" of his solemn covenant with the people? It is true that there were discrepancies between what Mr. Roosevelt promised to do in his 1932 platform and what he actually did in his 1933 administration. These discrepancies were so great that the President's friends were driven to the doctrine of emergency to explain and justify his change of front. But the emergency now is the same emergency which appeared two years ago with the scrapping of the NRA and AAA, and was most dire in 1936 when the second Democratic platform was written. The President has had more than two years in which to work out this problem of the Court, and we had a right to believe that the pledge of the Democratic platform embodied his mature and determined conviction. Yet all at once, without warning of any kind, he presents a program, hitherto unheard of, which has split his party, scattered the great body of his popular support, shocked the sober and intelligent sensibilities of the nation, alarmed all people who understand and would sustain the institutions of democracy, and, after all the mess of confusion and dismay, leaves absolutely unsolved the problem which is before us.

It is this failure to meet the issue and solve the problem of the Constitution and the Court which dictates my unqualified opposition to the President's policies. I am one who wants to see something done about this question. I believe that labor and the farmers and the millions on precarious relief, to say nothing of the great mass of liberal and progressive opinion, want to see what I want to see. And what has the President done for us? Undertaken a mere change of personnel on the bench of the Supreme Court—which is like trying

*Delivered as a radio address over a nation-wide hookup on Thursday, March 11.—EDITORS.

to cure a disease by changing the color of the medicine in the vial!

It is true that Mr. Roosevelt, if his policy is enacted into law, would appoint to the Court six younger men, in sympathy with the New Deal. But in range and power of authority the Court would be the same Court interpreting the same Constitution to the disadvantage and even denial of a Congress seeking to legislate under the new conditions of economic and social life. For the moment, the political log-jam in Washington would be broken. But how long would this last? Even at the start there is no surety that judges appointed to the bench would remain liberal for more than a few years, or even months. The most reactionary member of the Court today was named by the most liberal president of our generation! Then, in due course, all the new judges appointed to meet the present emergency would themselves grow old and thus suffer the same infirmities which, according to Mr. Roosevelt's testimony, are inevitable in the case of judges, if not of representatives and senators. As time passed, the nation would again swiftly change, and the Court would again *not* change. Slowly but surely, in other words, there would develop the same situation that vexes us now. And, finally, there may come at any time a succession of conservative presidents, and their appointees to the Court would leave the next liberal president in the same predicament as Mr. Roosevelt, with the same result of paralysis of government, stagnation of progress, and frustration of the public will. And with nothing to do but repeat Mr. Roosevelt's fantastic experiment of packing the court with a new set of judges, themselves to grow old and make necessary still another packing!

Why, if the President has suffered so much, should he prepare a similar fate for his successors? Why, if the issue is so important, should he guarantee its continuance, with no remedy but a repetition of his own devious device?

If I understand the farmers and workers, and people generally, I cannot believe that their demands for liberation and progress are going to be met by any such temporary, freakish, and futile expedient as Mr. Roosevelt has so nonchalantly submitted to the nation. To any one with half an eye, it must be evident that the President is evading and avoiding the real issue of the Supreme Court, just as, in his specific proposal, he is at bottom trying to circumvent, not "maintain, the letter and spirit of the Constitution." The truth is, Mr. Roosevelt is not interested in the great question of the Court. His program proves that he is not even remotely concerned with the fundamental political problem of an independent judiciary operating inside the Constitution in the service of a modern state. This problem has not touched him. What Mr. Roosevelt wants, and proposes to have, is his own way. If to get this he must weaken the prestige of an institution of immeasurable dignity, break down the priceless safeguards of civil liberty inherent in that institution—do what John Milton warned against, 300 years ago, as the tendency of monarchs to "have all benches of judicature annexed to the throne"—then these things he is prepared to do! I call this not only an evasion of the issue and a betrayal of a solemn pledge, but—what is infinitely more sinister—a surrender to impulses all too much like the action of Hitler in packing the courts of the German Reich with judges wearing ermine robes stamped with the emblem of the Swastika.

The tragedy in this whole affair is that of lost opportunity. Mr. Roosevelt entered the White House backed by such a popular majority as has sustained no president in our history. He took office for a second time bound by a mandate to reform the Supreme Court by due process of Constitutional amendment. Had he prepared and presented such an amendment, he would have been acclaimed and supported by all the people, and would have led the country to a victory of constitutional reform second to none in the annals of the republic. Now Mr. Roosevelt has thrown this all away. Betrayed by his persistent passion to be not a statesman but a playboy, he has presented a clever device of expediency instead of a sober program of reform. And if the device goes through, the reform is done for.

Mr. Roosevelt has made his first and perhaps fatal mistake, for this time he is not going to be obeyed, but himself made to obey the will of an outraged people.

And Satan Came Also Among Them

ERNEST M. WHITESMITH

The writer of the book Job, in his introduction to that great drama, tells of two general assemblies of angels in heaven, and of each of those gatherings he says, "And Satan came also among them." What a touch of genius! It recognizes the strange dualism that runs through all things, even in the affairs of God; that whenever and wherever the angels gather, Satan is likely to be found amongst them.

I make it my concern to become acquainted with the rebel elements of the population, and especially with those in rebellion against all forms of organized religion. Although I find them much more interesting than the ordinary run of people, they usually show little patience with my attempts to interpret their social ideals in terms of religious thought and life. Frequently, in an endeavor to put me to utter silence, they will deliver some such blanket indictment as this: "I hate the Church as the greatest source of human misery and the greatest foe of human progress." To this I usually respond in some such words as these: "I heartily agree with you. The Church has enshrouded life with gloom and terror, stilled the innocent laughter of childhood, and chilled the blood with its horrible myths of hell. It has enthroned a monster of cruelty and injustice for the worship of mankind. It has defended every form of earthly injustice and oppression, has been responsible for more inhuman cruelties and persecutions and has done more to retard freedom of thought than any other institution. It has, through hatred and bigotry, spread division and strife, and has blessed virtually

every war that has cursed western civilization during the last fifteen hundred years."

When my interlocutor recovers from his surprise at my attitude he is likely to say, "Of course you mean the Catholic Church. You do not consider your own in the lot." To this I reply, "I refer to the entire Church as usually understood, although I admit that I consider the Roman Catholic Church the greatest offender, so that one may justly hold a Roman Catholic as suspect until he makes it evident that he is not an adherent of Catholic ecclesiasticism. But this is only a matter of degree. While Catholic Spain was burning its thousands of heretics, Protestant Scotland was burning its hundreds of witches. And so, since we agree concerning the villain in the plot, what do you consider the most beneficial institution in our civilization?"

Usually there is hesitation and even inability to make any such estimate. Sometimes the school is chosen. To this I object: "The School is but the product of another and much greater institution, the Church, which I consider to be also humanity's most beneficial institution. In all our civilization there is but one university of which I have heard that is more than a hundred and fifty years old and that one is not a child of the Church. The Church is the mother of modern learning, the patron of science and art, the defender of the poor and weak, the protector of liberty. Nor do I refer particularly to the Protestant Church and its liberal wing. I must admit that, as the Roman Catholic Church excels in cruelties and oppressions and tyrannies, so also does it excel in the production of saints and martyrs and defenders of all righteous causes."

At other times I am taken to task for not throwing the Bible out of our church. People tell me that they not only consider that it contains a great deal of error but also much that is positively vicious. With such I also readily agree. One can find in the Bible support for every evil cause. The book Joshua will furnish defense for a militarism and nationalism of the most ruthless kind. The Nazis can find in John's Gospel and the Epistles an excellent excuse for their intolerance and Jew-baiting. The writings of Paul vindicate the claims of those who would return woman to a position of slavery to father or husband. The Bible furnishes a hundred texts in support of polygamy, the purchase of wives, slavery, and, in fact, almost every social evil known to man. And what shall we say of the deep, dark notes of revenge and lust of power which it sometimes strikes? What of the 109th and the 137th Psalms? It is a literature of priestly humbug and pagan ritual, calling ever for blood, and more blood, for "without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sins."

But there is another side. Over against this priestly religion there is another, a nobler, and an eternal religion which declares, "Thou delightest not in burnt offerings and in the blood of sacrifices"; for "what doth the Eternal require of thee but to do justice, to love kindness, and to live in quiet fellowship with thy God?" There are two Bibles in the one, for Satan was speaking there also. The Bible is the story of the rise from barbarism of a great people who became the world's religious and ethical leaders. Like us, they had two religions. Some of them worshipped God. Far more worshipped Mammon and Belial. The Bible is the record of both. It is part of the Word of God which is the record of the discoveries of new truths by which the races of men have struggled upwards out of "the wastes of cosmic slime." But this part of the record, that which we call the Bible, has been, despite all its black stains, the preëminent inspiration of every good cause.

The insistence that Bibles and churches and parties and institutions are either all black or all white is responsible for more human misery than perhaps any other blunder. It is the world's great heresy. Akin to it is the notion that because an institution began as a blessing it can never become a curse; that Satan cannot get in among the angels and make trouble.

The terrible possibilities of this have long been seen and were set forth in ancient warnings against the enthroning of the powers of evil as God in the temple of God; against "the abomination of desolation, the Beast in the holy place." It is the failure to recognize this that makes people fanatics and bigots, blind followers of "the machine" and allies of every evil. This is the basis of ecclesiasticism which is Satan's Church within the Church. Men must be taught to recognize good and evil apart from dress or name or place. They must learn to distinguish means from ends and to know that there are times when institutions once good become so predominantly evil that it is a duty to "come out and be separate."

As has already been intimated, this dualism is to be found in the history of all good causes. Jesus undertook the setting up of a real brotherhood which, from the beginning, was badly tainted. Not only was there a Judas in the lot, but the rest of them had a sharp eye to their own personal advancement. But that brotherhood—the Church of Peter—finally triumphed over the legions of Caesar; "and Satan came also among them."

"From the golden alms of Blessing man had coin'd himself a curse:
Rome of Peter, Rome of Ceasar, which was crueller? Which was worse?"

Were one to be asked today what is the most promising and hopeful movement of our age, ought not the answer to be "The Communist movement as seen in the Soviet Republics"? Would not the same answer be justified if asked to name the movement that is most menacing to the freedom and advancement of mankind? Dr. Holmes said as much when, on a visit to Russia four years ago, he wrote: "Moscow lifts one to the heights of exaltation and dashes one to the depths of despair." As has several times been noted, in its intransigeance towards all rivals without and all nonconformity within its ranks, in its subtle Jesuitry in confusing ends with means, in its ability to inculcate the spirit of unquestioning submission to the decrees of its councils, in its whole esprit de corps, the Communist Party bears an amazing resemblance to the Roman Catholic Church.

Poor Job got nothing out of those two grand conferences of angels in heaven except economic ruin from the first, and mental and physical anguish from the second because Satan was at both of them. There is considerable evidence that Satan gathers with the angels at Moscow. It is very probable that some gullible angels are attending meetings at Berlin.

The ecstatic fervor with which the followers of the rival camps take the pronouncements which come from Moscow and Berlin seems like the prelude of impending horrors. We are again witnessing something of the mad and cruel devotion of the days of Torquemada.

A True American Policy Toward Spain

DONALD G. LOTHROP

We are witnessing in Spain today another example of the attack on democracy which began with the rise of Mussolini, the Eastern European Dictatorships, the bloody destruction of Austrian democracy by Dolfuss, and the coming to power of Naziism in Germany. Reactionism cannot live where democratic institutions are maintained, for political democracy has within it the urge and technique of economic democracy. There is a steady tendency for the peoples' control over political forms and institutions to extend to the industrial, both natural resources and manufacturing.

The position of a privileged church and clergy, of the remnants of a feudal and landed aristocracy, of the recipients of vested privilege in privately monopolized industry is threatened. Thus to preserve their special interests these elements of the population must band together and smash democracy—the will of the people. This they are doing in Spain.

The proof of the fact that the attackers of democracy are few and do not constitute any sizable portion of the Spanish people lies in the now incontrovertible evidence of the presence of thousands of African Moors, from 40,000 to 60,000 Italians, and from 15,000 to 20,000 Germans. The Italian press boasted that the capture of Malaga by the forces at the disposal of Franco was an Italian Fascist victory. Experts are all convinced that the rebels would have been put down in a few weeks if it had not been for outside assistance.

In the face of this obvious situation, we find that the democratic countries, England and France, are setting up a scheme which actually boycotts the legitimate Spanish Government around which the popular parties have rallied. The rebels have been granted de facto belligerent status. Contrary to the custom of international law and precedent, the recognized Government is deprived of freedom to trade in the materials which guarantee its security and maintenance. The actual policy of these so-called democratic countries has been to penalize and injure the democracy of Spain. Is it not legitimate and sound common sense to raise the question as to whether these countries are really believers in democracy? Has not the weasel worm of reaction been boring at the heart of their foreign policy?

Can we not state with certainty that the present American policy toward Spain is also one which is opposed to Spanish democracy, a veiled attack on a legitimate Government, an unfriendly behavior toward a nation which we recognize legally as a friendly power? The Spanish people are fighting our battle. They are opposed by foreign troops, by the reactionary Church which wishes to become re-established as a State Church, by absentee landlords, by an aristocracy which has lost its historic excuse for being. If these dark forces win in Spain they will set back the clock of progress, they will strengthen Fascism and Naziism and make more certain the aggressive world attack on democracy which these powers have in store. They would win a strategic place in the Mediterranean—they would split the French army between the Pyrenees and the Rhine. Fascism could spread more easily in South America. It would give strength and succor to the little Hitlers of the United States.

To assist them as we have been doing is to knife democracy in the back. This is the official American policy. It has not been true to our past. Every lover of free institutions should protest this policy.

The policy for Americans is quite different. It should be determined by our tradition, our past, by our tremendous obligation to the democrats of Europe who served in their time as the midwives of American freedom. Pause for a moment and consider what we owe. Where would our freedom have been were it not for outside help and assistance? Think of the Poles, Pulaski and Kosciusko, who served as leaders of the American Revolutionary Army—the fighting force of our democracy. Then there was Baron von Steuben who trained our men at Valley Forge—Kossuth, the leader of cavalry—Thomas Paine, the English immigrant, who gave to us our very name, the United States of America, who formulated our hopes and ideals in *The Crisis,* the pages of which George Washington ordered read to the American troops.

Then there was Lafayette with French gold, Rochambeau with supplies and a Navy. These foreigners nursed and succored our embryonic democracy. We must not forget the English people themselves. If England had been united against us these states would not have blossomed into selfhood. Burke in his Conciliation speech was merely articulating the sentiments and feelings of a large section of the English people, who, being opposed to reaction in England, looked upon the American struggle as their battle for democracy. They knew that our victory was their victory, for it would weaken the monarchy and strengthen the forces of democratic progress.

But our debt to Europe, to international democracy, does not end with the American Revolution. When Abraham Lincoln was elected President by the democratic forces in America, those who were defeated in the election, as those who were defeated by the February, 1936, election in Spain, turned to plot the attempt to overthrow the legitimate Government. The forces that are now dealing death to the civilian population in Spanish cities are of the same type as the American plotters of 1860, the large land owners, who wanted to retain the feudal institution of slavery and the reactionary church that supported it. Lincoln was faced with the same problem as is the democracy of Spain—the problem of putting to rout in the face of international antipathy the forces of reaction. How easy it is to forget our past! How hard to remember! England was on the verge of breaking with us in our fight. She looked with favor upon the rebels. There were moments when she almost recognized them and went to their assistance. This did not take place. The democratic people of England spoke out against it—meetings, demonstra-

tions, and pressure from English liberals and workers (workers, mind you, who were facing starvation because of the idleness of the cotton mills enforced by the ring of northern gun-boats around the Atlantic and Gulf coasts of rebel territory). Defying their immediate economic interest, these English democratic workers showed their solidarity with American democracy.

The policy for Americans in contradistinction to the present official American policy should be one which recognizes our past debts to democratic Europe. There can be no other policy for Americans. If there were, we would have no right to call ourselves Americans with that pride to which we are prone. We call ourselves believers in democracy. Let us prove it. Our own democracy depends upon the preservation of democracy in other lands. More, it depends not alone on preserving it, but rather on extending it.

Theodore Parker knew this better than many of those who now do him verbal honor. He collected funds in Boston for the purpose of financing John Brown's armed defense of a free West, a West which would continue to be a home for democratic rights, a home where slavery would be unknown. Parker knew, even before Lincoln, that this country could not endure half slave and half free—that the chain on white labor could not be broken until the Negro people were also freed from their chains. So today the world cannot remain half democratic and half fascist. The victory of one is the defeat of the other. There can be only one policy for Americans and that is a policy which has as its aim the paying of our deep debt to European democracy, by assisting the Spanish people with food, clothing, medical supplies, doctors, nurses, and surgeons, by exposing the double dealing of the countries which pose as democratic but which really veil an attack upon democracy, and by urging that our official policy be returned to that which international law has always provided—the privilege of trade with friendly Governments. In this way and this way only shall we have the right to call ourselves Americans and democrats. In this way only will the sacrifices of Paine, Pulaski, Kosciusko, Lafayette, of the "ragged rabble" of '76, and of the "boys in blue" of '61 be justified and sustained.

An International Magna Charta for Women

LOLA MAVERICK LLOYD

While the Ethiopian war followed its shameful course, the friends of the League of Nations began to talk of revision of the Covenant of the League to make it a more efficient instrument of world peace. At the special Assembly last summer this thought was uppermost, and States Members of the League were invited to send in by September their suggestions for revising the Covenant. Several of them made recommendations. But the war ended and at the opening of the regular session of the Assembly late in September revision was no longer popular. You could not even call it "revision." "Changes" might be necessary, but only to "apply more fully the principles of the Covenant." The Committee of Twenty-Eight was finally appointed by the Assembly to meet in December and consider "the application of the principles of the Covenant,"—certainly not to revise it with a capital "R."

It was while Revision was still in the air that certain organized feminists met to express their views. It is a group working continuously, internationally as well as nationally, for growth of democracy in women's direction. So now, if the Covenant of the League is to be revised or in any way changed while the so-called democracies are in plain control of the League of Nations, they do not see why the rights of women should not also be extended and secured. This group is the Women's Consultative Committee organized in 1931 in accordance with a resolution of the Council of the League of Nations. It is composed of two representatives from each of five international organizations of women, namely:

All Asian Conference of Women,
International Council of Women,
Equal Rights International,
Inter-American Commission of Women, and
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

The Consultative Committee will soon be enlarged by the addition of at least three other international groups whose representatives have been observers at our meetings.

The Women's Consultative Committee, of which I have the honor to be chairman for the current year, placed on its own agenda during the summer of 1936 the question of revision of the Covenant; at the annual meeting in September in Geneva we formulated our demands in a communication to the President of the Assembly, asking for an audience and for immediate consideration. Failing in this, we undertook the difficult task of getting support from official delegates during the October Assembly for the consideration of our subject the following year (1937 Assembly).

In October popular faith in the League was being shaken by wars and rumors of war, and the Assembly was low in its own esteem. To demand at this zero hour an immense extension of democracy was doubtless such an act of faith on the part of the Women's Consultative Committee as to prove a challenge and a tonic to the more serious delegates.

One other encouragement was the partial completion of the new League building. A gleaming white Palace of Nations overlooking Geneva and the lake was already in use by the commissions of the League, by all the official delegations, and by the press. Its Council Chamber, magnificent with gilded murals, was opened in October, but the Assembly still met in downtown Geneva. It was here in the vestibule of the Electoral Building that we were sometimes able to find our delegates before and after their sessions. Tickets of admission were more difficult to get than usual, although the audience this year was always rather scanty. I was grateful for my press ticket from UNITY and des-

perate indeed when I lost it. After a wild search through every inch of my belongings and a visit to every spot where I had paused all day, I knew it was my duty to report its loss to Miss Ward, the strict manager of press affairs for Americans. Next day I told her the truth and was relieved and yet humiliated to find my ticket again in her hands. What an orderly city where a ticket is found and returned to the proper office! Doors of commissions again opened before me, and interviews with delegates again became possible.

First we tried to interest the women delegates, who seem never to hold office as full-fledged delegates but only as substitutes. A proposition must be referred to the head of her delegation, if not to every member of it, before a woman delegate feels free to act. Either because of her precarious standing or because she was not a convinced feminist, each woman in turn refused to be the first to sign the petition asking the Assembly to consider our communication. Then the Women's Consultative Committee with helpers from various nations tried to do a thorough job of canvassing all the delegations. We had better luck with the men, who usually find it only natural for women to want full civil status and to use all their legal means to get it. However, not many delegations are willing to help us.

We got our first real support from the Czecho-Slovakian delegation. President Benes was not there, but the same democratic spirit was evidenced by Mr. Osusky, an outstanding member of the League who acts always with its interests at heart. I am sure the sympathetic Norwegian delegate, Dr. Johanne Reutz, would have signed our petition if her chief of delegation had not been recalled to Norway at the critical last moment. Our campaign for signatures finally succeeded. Osusky's name headed the list and was followed by the delegates from Turkey, China, New Zealand, two Baltic States, three Balkans, and five of the Americas, with Russia near the end, signed by Alexandra Kollontai, the only woman's name on it.

We attained the maximum of signatures, fifteen, on the very morning when the petition had to be presented to President Saavedras de Lamas, the last day of the Assembly, October 10th. The President read it aloud at the opening of the session and said it would be disposed of as usual. Nothing spectacular, perhaps, but a historic moment for some of us. There was no objection, and the subject of our communication, together with the whole subject of the status of women, is officially on the agenda of the next regular Assembly.

The subject of our communication is unquestionably a plain demand to write into the Covenant all kinds of equality. Now that revision is out, we expect that automatically our demands will be considered along with others by the Committee of Twenty-Eight in their efforts to "apply the principles of the Covenant." The principal part of the original text of the September communication from the Women's Consultative Committee to the President of the Assembly follows:

"Our Committee recommends that the following provisions be added to the Covenant in order that the interests of women may be better protected under the League and that the League may more truly serve all the people of the World:

1. The Members of the League undertake that in their respective countries there shall be no distinction based on sex in their law and practice regarding nationality.

2. The Members of the League undertake that in their respective countries the right to vote shall not be denied or abridged on the ground of sex.

3. The Members of the League undertake that in their respective countries men and women shall have equal rights in all other fields.

4. The Members of the League undertake that men and women shall both be members, with full voting powers, of all delegations to the Council and Assembly of the League and to all Conferences under the auspices of the League."

With this Magna Charta nailed to the door of the League of Nations we must now take steps in preparation for the discussion that is sure to come up in one League commission or another. The Committee of Twenty-Eight met in December to organize and adjourn subject to call by its chairman. It may not meet again soon. But the First Commission of the Assembly which takes up legal matters will surely have our subject on its list in September.

Our demand for equal suffrage in States Members of the League is very likely the first of our four demands possible of attainment in the near future. Suffrage, at least, was the first of the equal rights attained by women in America. Therefore, to concentrate on one demand at a time, women's groups should unite and exert their pressure first for equality in suffrage throughout the world.

Anti-feminists will say that the Covenant cannot interfere with domestic questions like suffrage in its States Members. But we say that the Covenant does already touch labor conditions, and that it must touch other domestic questions as it grows more democratic and adapts itself for survival.

Take note that equal suffrage may mean much or little suffrage. Our international request properly refrains from expressing a desire to change the quality of suffrage within a state. Women are asking through international action merely suffrage rights equal to men's. Wherever citizens vote, let women be among them.

We claim that equality of suffrage within a nation is not entirely a domestic question, after all, but has its international bearing. The governments of countries where women vote do in a certain sense represent women, and the delegates chosen by such governments for the Council and the Assembly, even though they may all be men, are more truly representative than delegates from countries where women have no vote at all. And action in the League is affected by this fact.

Suffrage seems such a fundamental right that very few groups of women organize themselves anywhere without having a belief in "votes for women." Let all these organized groups throughout the world express themselves on international suffrage reform to their own governments and directly to the Secretary General of the League of Nations and we can put irresistible pressure behind our demands at next September's Assembly.

Women must ask their governments to send women delegates to the Assembly, not substitutes, —and women who are well-tried feminists. The 1937 meeting of the First Commission of the Assembly can be as thrilling as their 1935 meeting, where the status of women was for the first time on their agenda,—put there, I may add, by our same courageous Women's Consultative Committee in

its 1934 campaign. In September, 1935, whenever women's status came up—and it was dealt with in five sessions—the room of the First Commission was completely filled with interested delegates, the public, and the press.

We must never again let this subject of ours—increase of equality in women's status—disappear from the Agenda of the Assembly. There should be continual progress and reports due annually. Women's equality of status must become one of the League's permanent subjects. The work of getting it on the list for discussion is much too difficult. Now that we have it there, let all women's organizations unite to keep it there. Support the Women's Consultative Committee.

We should no longer be content to remain unofficial observers. Remember what uphill work it is to change legal constitutions after they have once been formulated. The addition of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States ought to have taught American women this lesson. Whether the World Government is coming through revision and growth of the League of Nations or through some new spontaneous movement of the democratic peoples, women everywhere ought to be keen to get in on the ground floor. Do not wait until unequal regulations are ratified and then begin to complain of injustice. Stand together internationally for equal suffrage now, and then more than ever before women can fulfill their destiny and duty of preserving the human race. We women who are somewhat free must use our power, through the only international machinery we have, to free our less fortunate sisters, because women's help is sorely needed right at the center of things political to build a new economic order and to develop and maintain permanent peace.

Trumpets on New Horizons

Where Beauty Dwells

The rarest orchids bloom where swamps are dank
With fetid ooze; and glowing diamonds gleam
In earth's remotest caves. Where clouds are rank,
The sinking sun sends forth a golden beam
To pierce the gloom and paint the somber sky
With hues of hope. The clatter and the din
Of war make more intense an infant's cry;
And goodness hides behind the cloak of sin.

Where ugliness abounds there beauty dwells,
Awaiting those whose senses are in tune
With God and nature and the song that wells
In every human heart. Let such commune
With beauty wheresoever she is found;
To them alone her treasures are unbound.

—E. Guy Talbott.

To E. Guy Talbott

I have not seen your face, but yet I know
You now as if you were my flesh and blood;
You are my brother in a wider sense;
Your God is my God, and your path is mine;
Your conception of the Universe is beautiful,
And explains a sentiment that I thought was only mine.
God is everywhere, and all is God;
That which we call good is His—
The flowers that bloom, the birds that sing;
The swinging planet, or the swaying tree;
The mountain peak, or valleys deep beneath,
All bespeak His handiwork.
I have sensed Him all these years,
But knew Him not 'till you revealed His face.
I have felt His presence 'neath the stars,
And knew not what it was; but now I know,
For I have been transformed, and made to see
That God and man are one—a perfect whole.

—John Rowland.

Brotherhood

Peace begins when man is aware
He is not just here, but everywhere—
When he sees himself displayed in another,
And knows each man in the world as his brother.
True peace will reign on this great earth,
When all men's hearts first give it birth!

—Lulu E. Finney.

Redwood Forest

A thousand times a thousand years ago
The redwood forests towered as today.
The sunlight shot a long, dusk-cleaving ray
At high brown columns; ferns were dense below;
White birch-like alders arched above the flow
Of mossy brooks; the madcap azure jay
Darted and chattered; fawns leapt out to play,
And green halls rustled when the gale would blow.

All was the same, except that one bold mite,
Strutting erect on legs, was never viewed
With thumping axe and thunder-shadowed brow.
And all shall be the same, when noon burns bright
Over the leaf-grown, trailless solitude,
A thousand times a thousand years from now!

—Stanton A. Coblentz.

Dying Philosopher

My eyes are darkening
Only the past is clear;
My soul is harkening
To voices long held dear.
Soon all that I have wondered
Of wrongs the world has thundered
From men and nations plundered
Will join the vanished year.

Still flourish all the ills
Against which I have warred;
The gods' slow-grinding mills
Let chaos yet be lord.
All that good men have given,
With late fermenting leaven,
So easily is riven
By lies and fear and sword.

Despite the plunder wrung
By plenty out of dearth,
Despite foul slander's tongue
Besmirching deeds of worth,
I hold that truth is splendor,
Might must be truth's defender;
Then life will not surrender
The glory of its birth.

—Albert V. Fowler.

Liberalism and World Crisis

EDWIN H. WILSON

To be of service to the decades immediately ahead, religion will have to be geared to the needs of men in crisis. Ministers will have to be resourceful as well as courageous if they are to meet the unforeseen without wavering. And the churches will not merely need ministers whose training will be sufficient unto the day of crisis, but laymen who, because they have confidence in the principles of liberalism, will adhere to those principles responsibly and loyally when they stand with their minister in each hour of trial.

Although prediction of events is difficult and the program of the liberal church must unfold as it copes with specific future events, the approach of the liberal church to the future must be redefined with reference to the immediate world situation. The rise of Fascism and Communism presents a crisis to democracy and to religious liberalism because religious liberalism overlaps in values and ideals to a very large extent with the democratic way of life. Every political theory that builds upon dictatorship, class hatred, and the absorption of individuals by social machinery is unequivocally a challenge to religious liberalism. Liberalism is founded upon the worth of self-determining individuals under government that protects individuality and provides for the achievement of creative and dynamic equilibrium between differing viewpoints.

Individuality-destroying forces, which in Europe are dramatized as Fascism, exist in this country as sheer bigness of economic organization and as stereotyped mass pressures. The corporation, controlling thousands of jobs, absorbs the single individual in its vastness. Although an individual before the law, the corporation is really a privately owned collective, and, as described by a Unitarian layman recently, is "a legendary individual with no body to kick and no soul to be damned." Confronted with the power of the corporation, the individual wage earner is impotent without collective bargaining. Collective bargaining, in turn, is prevented by social control by corporate interests exercised through press, radio, and other channels. This control makes the average white collar wage earner, including accountant and engineer, unwilling or unable to recognize his dependency. Americans are deprived of their individuality more by their devotion to the prevailing philosophy, which worships power and material success, than by denial of civil liberty.

With the rise of discontent with a system that produces tremendous unemployment and decreasing purchasing power among the working classes, civil liberties are more and more in peril, as seen by recent efforts to impose teachers' oaths, to curb academic freedom, to repress independent periodicals, and to destroy industrial unions. Unable to feed multitudes of citizens, unable to adjust its international differences, our world perpetually hovers on the brink of fascist repression, with war the inevitable result of fascist policies. A new world war, more destructive of human life and property than the last, inclusive of all human evils, will represent the final bankruptcy of our western world. No one will deny that it is a world continually confronted with crisis through which at some point it may not be able to muddle through.

The hour of decision for liberal religion is here perpetually, in the sense that each religious liberal must at some point in his development feel the world crisis inwardly and deeply. To postpone this decisive experience is to divorce oneself from the renewal of liberalism that is now taking place. Years ago Justice Brandeis saw the threat to democracy that was latent in the massed aggregations of corporate wealth. The control of these organizations extends beyond economic control to psychological and philosophical control. Mob psychology with the inertia of unthinking millions behind it tends to cancel the uniqueness and significance of the individual. In America as in Europe, unless the love of liberty is reborn, the rabble rouser will be able to utilize the resident hatreds and prejudices to uproot our traditions of liberty and submerge the last trace of democracy.

The crisis is omnipresent, but for a given individual it is non-existent until it is accepted in terms of personal responsibility. It must confront each liberal as a realistic choice between two pathways that cannot lead to the same goal. One must be right and the other wrong. "Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide, in the strife of truth with falsehood, for the good or evil side." The choice that is before the religious liberals today is a choice between a social order that submerges the individual by mass measures, by impersonal institutions, by dictatorships and a social order which bases education, government, and other institutions on individual franchise and which demands that these institutions serve the fulfillment of individual life. It is a choice between the totalitarian state and the democratic state. It is a choice between irrationality and critical thinking. The choice may be stated in many ways, but will become completely clear only as there is a personal experience of the forces that are at work in the psychic life of the present.

Men who are forced by personal crisis to make a decision are, like Saul on the road to Damascus, brought to that point by forces that have been consciously and unconsciously at work within them for a considerable period. The crisis has brought them to a point at which they must accept something on faith. There is a bewildering array of immediate inconsistencies which blur their vision. Such persons can reach decision only by recourse to some sweeping truth that will show the irreconcilable paths and guide them through the maze of contingent claims. Religious liberalism has at this time such a sweeping truth to which it can appeal for guidance. This truth has the sanction of antiquity and the validity of present need to uphold it. It is the principle of Protagoras that "man is the measure of all things." It is the principle which moved the prophets of Israel who demanded righteousness and justice for persons in the life that now is. It was clearly manifest in the demand of

Jesus that "the sabbath exists for man, and not man for the sabbath." It was developed by Francis Bacon, who linked the love of man to the power of science by the assertion that science should be pursued "in order that human life might be enhanced." Twenty years ago John Dewey began to clarify this new liberalism when he stated:

> "When physics, chemistry, biology, medicine contribute to the detection of concrete human woes and the development of plans for remedying them and relieving the human estate they become moral; they become part of the apparatus of moral inquiry of science."

The principle is resident and active in society wherever men are using their best reason, including the methods of science, to cope with the obstacles of human fulfillment; wherever men, motivated by the love of their fellowmen, are coöperating to enhance and further man's individual self-realization.

Those who perceive the continuity of the historical development of this principle will grasp immediately its implications for society and for the liberal churches. It should be called a humanistic liberalism opposed to the belated laissez faire liberalism which is so clearly outmoded. This new liberalism will seek the *humanization* of society. It will demand that institutions, especially the corporate aggregates of wealth that now dominate our life, shall be brought under social control.

"Freedom through control" will be the motto of the new liberalism. The myth of individuality will be stripped from the privately owned collectives known as corporations. They will be reëstablished on a democratically coöperative basis with social use the goal of industry rather than *private profit.* By the test of this principle, the totalitarian church, which holds that the chief purpose of man is to glorify God, will be opposed, and a church which holds that its chief purpose is to promote individual fulfillment in this life will be supported.

A renewed, humanistic liberalism can be strong in a number of ways where the old liberalism was weak. In the first place it will be integrative, stressing the unity of the race, stressing the independence of nations, stressing coöperation of free individuals through willing choice in advancing the common welfare. It will not be a program of "every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost." Even the denominations may find their historic differences dissolved by this liberalism. Whereas a few years ago a prominent fundamentalist leader called upon Fundamentalists and Modernists to lay aside their differences and unite against Humanism, the common scourge of Christendom, the call today must be made for all Modernists, Theists, or Humanists, to lay aside their denominational differences and unite in a positive and constructive program for the defense of democracy.

That program must be essentially religious; therefore it cannot be based on hatred. Liberals can have no part in war, whether it be war "to make the world safe from Communism" or war to "make the world safe for Fascism." What will defeat these things is successful social change that eliminates the causes of "government by mob rule" and "thinking with the blood." The Barthians have performed a genuine service for Modernists by lumping them all, theist and humanist alike, into one category of those who look to this world for religious achievement and who believe that man, by his own efforts, can improve his own moral and physical well-being. No better thing could happen than for all doctrinal controversies between Modernists to be thrust aside until some less urgent day when indoor sports can again be brought to the fore. If theological controversy is still needed, it is to down those vulturous faiths that accept world depression and immanence of war as an opportunity for the perpetuation of other worldly "faith." The new liberalism should accept the stirring word "Humanism," not in its negative, cultist sense, but in the broad, positive meaning that is to be discerned wherever men of ability are using technical training to establish the life abundant for man in the here and now.

The humanistic liberalism that will emerge as the challenge of world crisis is met will become progressively strong as the men of good-will who are trained to do the technical work of the world are rallied to the common faith. Where ability is joined to the love of man, we find the old sentimental liberalism, with good intentions paralyzed by abstractions, giving way. This leadership is not the blundering fascist leadership of wind and drama, but that of effective problem-solving and planning by men who are able to promote coöperation and to plan with the vision afforded by research. The liberal churches could do no wiser thing at this juncture than to institute a campaign to awaken and recruit social workers, statesmen, engineers, accountants, doctors, teachers, business managers, and other technicians who have the welfare of mankind at heart to the common philosophy of humanistic liberalism which they so often share in deed if not in thought. The liberal churches should teach every child within their range of influence that it is a social duty to prepare oneself for some function that will advance the security and quality of human life under any future government. The future belongs to those who have ability. Democracy can save itself by skill.

One of the chief functions of the liberal church in the renewal of liberalism is to bring people to the point of personal crisis in which world issues are faced personally and the individual aligns himself with the program that alone can perpetuate freedom. Since personal crisis is furthered by education, the church will need to conduct a continuing program of adult education. This program should cause such issues as civil liberty, war-resistance, Rochdale coöperation and industrial democracy to become personal problems through the discussion group, rather than relying exclusively on forums which leave the individual a spectator at a performance. The church can also guide its members into critical reading and formulate programs of action in which theory can be realized in constructive work. The church must help each member to become a participant in the crucial struggle of humanity.

One other thing is as essential as any other in the answer to world crisis. This is to develop an awareness of the personal life and values for which all society exists. People must wrench themselves loose from mass living and become personalities. They must not, in their desire for an answer to

the world crisis, blot out their own private existences. Rather they must, by cultural endeavor and religious devotion, continually seek the goal of all social endeavor, i. e., personal fulfillment. They must discover those values that are precious for their own sake.

Prayer, or the humanistic substitute for prayer, which generates inward power and the appreciative love of life must be cultivated. Liberals who know what manner of person would justify all efforts to establish an ordered and secure democracy in the world will be its best servants. With an uncertain future, personal development through the quest of individual character and virtue alone can make the individual adequate to the unforeseen. Tolerance, open mindedness, philosophic breadth, artistic sophistication, religious loyalty, and personal integration can all contribute to individual significance and social progress. There is no antithesis between the social and the personal gospels in a humanized liberalism.

Along such lines as these, a united religious liberalism, humanistic in emphasis and direction, transcending doctrinal differences with respect to God and immortality, could be a power of consequence in opposition to the tides of reaction, of hatred, and of force which confront the world. The time is short. "The enemy is at our door." Denominational lines and vested class loyalties must be vaulted and all men of good will combine in the creation of this new liberalism. That liberalism will be born progressively as the crisis becomes personal. For some that crisis may not be cataclysmic. They may always have been that type of liberal and hence will be prepared to lead the way. For others it must be hastened by the persuasion of those who have a gospel of urgency to carry to a world to which they are able to speak with authority.

The signs are clear that the process of renewal in liberalism is under way. Already it has been shown that revolution must always wait upon the development of capable educators and technicians, and that revolution is accordingly a gradual matter of social evolution. Already the pendulum is swinging back from the insanity of dictatorship and irrational mob-rule to the sanity of critical and coöperative democracy. If these assertions be wish-thinking, then let us put the force of our united efforts behind these wishes, with the fervor of compelling faith.

My Russian Impressions*

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Translated from the Original Bengali by Basanta Koomar Roy

Copyright, 1937, by Basanta Koomar Roy

Author of "Rabindranath Tagore: The Man and His Poetry"

VII

Upon my return from Russia, I am on my way to America today. But the memories of Russia fully occupy my mind even today. The main cause for this is the fact that the other countries in which I have traveled do not shake the very foundation of the mind. They are no doubt energetic in their own spheres of activity. Somewhere it is politics, somewhere it is the hospital, somewhere it is the university, and somewhere it is the museum—the specialists are busy in their own lines of thought and activity. But things are different in Russia. There the entire population is inspired with a singleness of purpose in order to create the gigantic body of the new society, coördinating all the avenues of activities as if with all the genial harmony of the nervous system of the human body. All the diversities have merged themselves into one great current of undivided and indivisible consecration.

In the countries where the strength of wealth and power is divided by individual selfishness, it is absolutely impossible to achieve such a profound unison of mind and heart. Of course, during the world war a certain amount of unity of purpose was forced upon Russia—but that was temporary. The very nature of the great work in Russia, however, is the creation of an extraordinary power emanating from public activities, public mind, and public ownership of property.

In Soviet Russia I fully realized the meaning of those words of *The Upanishads*—"Don't be greedy." Why should not one be greedy? Because everything in the universe is but one network of truth. Personal greed stands in the way of the realization of that Oneness. *Tenaw taktenaw bhunjitha,* i.e., "Enjoy only that that comes from that Oneness." From the material point of view the Russians are expounding the same truth as is found in the foregoing words from our sacred scriptures—*The Upanishads.*† They consider the general welfare of humanity as the one supreme truth on earth. So they are willing to share equally all that society produces as one. *Ma gridha Ksyasidhanong,* i.e. —"Do not covet another's wealth." But the greed for wealth is the natural concomitant of personal ownership of property. They want to abolish this first, and then declare: "Enjoy only that that comes from Oneness."

All the other nations of Europe are dedicated to personal profit and individual enjoyment. In this process human society is being most boisterously churned. And, as in the story of our *Puranas,* as a consequence of this sort of churning both poison and nectar are coming to the top. But the nectar is being exclusively enjoyed by only one section of society—the vast majority is deprived of the nectar. Under such a system there is no end to unhappiness. Everybody took it for granted that such a state of affairs was inevitable. The argument was this: Greed is inherent in human nature, and the very nature of greed is to create and distribute inequality in the enjoyment

*Written in the period of 1930.—Editors.

†Emerson derived much of his philosophical inspiration from *The Upanishads;* and Thoreau said: "One wise sentence from *The Upanishads* is worth the State of Massachusetts many times over."—The Translator.

of things. So competition must go on; and one must be ever ready for warfare.

But Soviet Russia is trying to prove the contrary. Their argument is this: Unity is the basic truth of humanity. Partition is illusion (the Maya theory of our Vedanta philosophy). When by proper thinking and right action mankind will learn not to recognize this inequality, that very moment it will disappear like a dream from human consciousness.

This process of the cultivation of disregard for inequality in society is going on all over Russia on a gigantic scale. Everything else has been made subservient to this one supreme endeavor. So in Russia I have come in contact with a titanic mind. I have never seen such plans for educational reconstruction in any other country in the world. In other countries the one who is educated reaps the harvest of education himself. The fishes and the loaves, the honey and the cream are all for himself. But here the entire society is educated with the education of each. And the lack of education in one is keenly felt by all. For, by dint of collective education, they are seeking to fruitfully utilize their collective mind for the well-being of all the inhabitants of the universe. They are the *Visyakarma*—the divine architect of the Hindu pantheon. Consequently they have to be universe-minded. So true universities are meant only for them.

In diverse ways they are engaged in diffusing education amongst all the people. One such process is the establishment of museums. They have literally dotted the cities, the towns, and the villages with museums of all different kinds. These Russian museums are not passive like our library at Santiniketan. They are active indeed.

We also find Regional Study Centers all over the country. Altogether they have about 2,000 centers like these, with 70,000 members. Each center is engaged in research work in past history, and past and present economic conditions of the locality. Besides, it investigates the degree of fertility of the soil; and geologically explores the existence of hidden minerals underground. It is the principal function of the Soviet officials to spread mass education through the museums connected with the Regional Study Centers. The New Age for universal education that has dawned in Russia is primarily due to these extensive Regional Study Centers and the Museums.

Our Kalimohan carried on a little of such local research work at Santiniketan; but our students and teachers were not connected with the work. So it did not do them any good. To train minds for research work is not in any way an inferior task to that of reaping a harvest of benefit from research work itself. I heard that Provat inaugurated such a scheme for research work with the help of the college students of the Department of Economics. But a work like this should have a wider scope. The students of our school, too, should be initiated into this work; and museums should also be started for local products.

I know you will be much pleased to hear of the way they conduct galleries for paintings in Russia. There is a famous treasure house of paintings in Moscow by the name of Tretyakov Gallery. About 300,000 persons visited this gallery in the one year of 1928-1929. It has become impossible for this Gallery to admit all those who want to visit it. So before holidays a system of registration of visitors has become necessary.

Before the Soviet Revolution of 1917, only the rich, the "respectable," and the educated visited such galleries. They are now known as *bourgeosie*. But now countless daily workers, like masons, blacksmiths, grocers, tailors, etc., visit this gallery, as do Soviet soldiers, Soviet army officers, students, and farmers.

Soviet Russia had realized the necessity of awakening a taste for art in the minds of these classes. Uncultivated minds cannot at one jump thoroughly realize the mystery of the art of painting. They just wander about viewing paintings hanging from the labyrinths of endless walls. Appreciation of art loses itself in the mazes of the paintings. Consequently, they have placed expert guides in almost all of the museums. They select these guides from amongst the officials of the educational department of the museum, or from amongst other officials of governental scientific departments. The visitors do not have to pay these guides anything. The superintendent of these galleries must see to it that the visitors do not plunge into the mistake of thinking that to see a picture is only to be acquainted with the theme of the painting.

One must understand its composition, its color scheme, its drawing, its perspective, its illumination, its technique in order to study a painting. Very few know these, so the guides have to be extraordinarily well educated in the art of painting. Then only it is possible for them to awaken inquisitiveness in the minds of the visitors and capture their attention. Another problem these guides must remember is that there is not merely one but many pictures in the museum to be studied by the visitors. They must know the classified types of these paintings, be able to choose a few representative types, and explain their nature to the visitors. So the guides do not take in too many paintings, spending not more than twenty minutes on each. Every painting has a language and a rhyme of its own which have to be expounded, as does the relationship of the beauty of a painting to its theme and thought. It is frequently useful to explain the specialty of a painting by contrasting it with its opposite type. But the moment a visitor feels mentally tired, he is left alone by the guides. I have compiled these notes for you from a report of how Soviet Russia educated the uneducated in the appreciation of painting. India has much to learn from this.

I told you in a former letter that Soviet Russia is most energetically and enthusiastically engaged in quickly transforming itself into a mighty nation by the power of agriculture and machinery. This is a very important thing to remember. The Russians are making this titanic preparation in order to be able to hold its own by its own prowess in competition with all the wealthy nations of the world.

Whenever we talk of the political regeneration of our country, we at once think of extinguishing the candles of all other activities in life, lest the cause suffer from lack of whole-hearted attention. Our countrymen especially think that the fine arts are fatally opposed to all the austere resolutions of life. They hold that in order to revive the manliness of the nation we have only to march up and down the meadows and turn the flute of the muse into a big stick—otherwise the nation can never be rebuilt. The falsity and the futility of such arguments can best be most fully realized when one comes to Russia. Here, in order to increase the efficiency of the worker for the running of factories all over the country, they are making elaborate educa-

tional preparations so that the workers may enjoy the beauty of paintings with cultured minds. They know that those who do not love art are savages, and those who are savages are crude on the outside and weak inside.

The art of the theatre in Russia has improved extraordinarily. Even in those days of direst disasters and fiercest famines after the Revolution of 1917, they have danced, they have sung, and they have produced plays. There was never the least conflict in Soviet Russia between politics and the theatre.

There is no power in the desert. The real expression of power is seen in places where a laughing stream of water sweetly gushes out of the hard heart of a rock; or when the austere dignity of the Himalayas blossoms out into a transcendent attractiveness at the gentle touch of the beauty of the spring. The great king Vikramaditya drove his Sakh enemies out of India; but he did not forbid Kalidas (India's greatest poet of all ages) to write his *Meghdutam*. It cannot be said that the Japanese do not know how to wield the sword; and they use the brush with equal dexterity. If during my visit to Russia I had found the people engaged only in running factories and ploughing farms, then I could say that this nation is sure to die of malnutrition. When the guardian angel of a forest stops the gentle rustling of the leaves and then most callously prides itself in having no use for the sap, that guardian angel deserves to preside over a carpenter shop and not over a forest of living trees. He may be strong; but he is very barren. So I give notice to the heroes, and warn the saints of our land that I shall not give up singing and playing even if a British policeman beats me to death.

The Russians have developed an extraordinary sense of appreciation of the art of the theatre. The courage of new creation is constantly in evidence in this field of activity there. It has not stopped yet. This supreme courage of creation has played a tremendous part in the social revolution there. They have not shown the least trace of fear for the new—be it in social problems, in politics, or in the arts.

For many centuries the old psychology of theology and the old philosophy of politics overpowered the intelligence of the Russian people; and almost their very life itself. The Soviet Revolutionists have now killed these two evils to their very roots. My heart leaps with joy to see such a painfully enslaved nation attain such a great liberation in such a short time. For the religion that destroys the freedom of the mind of man by keeping him ignorant is a worse enemy than the worst of monarchs; for the monarch crushes the spirit of his subjects only from the outside. Of course we know from history that the ruler who sought ever to enslave his subjects always took shelter in a form of religion that blinded the intellect of his people. That religion is like a daughter of poison. She embraces to captivate; and captivates to kill. The arrow of devotion enters deeper into the inner recesses of our hearts than the arrow of power; for the former is subtly soothing.

The Soviet has saved the nation from the hands of the insults of the Czar and from the self-inflicted insults of its own people. Let the theologians of other countries condemn Soviet Russia all they want; but I cannot condemn her, and I do not. Atheism is much better than superstition in religion and the tyranny of the Czar which were like heavy loads of stone on the breast of Russia. The load is lifted. And when you visit Russia you will yourself see with your own eyes the nature of the freedom they now enjoy.

[*To be Continued*]

The Study Table

A People's Poet

SOCIAL SONG AND OTHER VERSE. *By Robert Whitaker. Atlanta: Banner Press, Emory University.*

UNITY has published not a few of the poems of Robert Whitaker. His verse has been included in some of our best anthologies of radical and revolutionary poetry. He has himself published occasional pamphlet and booklet collections of his writings. Now he has prepared something like a definitive edition of the poems by which he would choose to be remembered. It is an offering worthy of a man who has cultivated deep literary tastes, loved and served his fellows all his life, and at the cost of bitter and noble sacrifice given himself unstintingly to human causes.

The moment we got the book, we looked for

"My country is the world, I count
No son of man my foe,"

the most famous poem Mr. Whitaker has ever written. It has been printed innumerable times, in all kinds of places, and has received the final honor of being separated from the name of its author and thus gathered into the folk-poetry of mankind as "anonymous." We found the noble stanzas on page 34—and wondered why they had not been placed on the opening pages of the volume. But Mr. Whitaker has chosen for this distinction a poem called "The Herd," probably because this latter voices the note which runs all through this collection of songs and lyrics—namely, the people, the common people:

"They have not lived in vain, the common crowd
Of any land or age;
However scorned and plundered by the proud
Who strutted down the stage.

Out of the many have the many come,
Or else the race had died;
They who despise the multitude as dumb
Drew from the deeps decried." . . .

Another version of "My Country" appears in the familiar "America" form of stanza. It begins:

"My country **is** the world:
My flag with stars impearled
Fills all the skies.
All the round earth I claim;
Peoples of every name;
And all inspiring fame
My heart would praise."

It ends:

"The days of pack and clan
Shall yield to love of man,
When, war-flags furled,
We shall be done with hate,
And strife of State with State,
When man with man shall mate
O'er all the world."

We commend this to ministers, teachers, and others, as a good international substitute for "America."

The note of peace appears again and again throughout the volume. So also the theme of brotherhood and freedom, running all the way from poems denouncing and deriding tyranny and exploitation to poems acclaiming with exultation the revolution. One of the noblest poems in this book is entitled "Walls," and reads as follows:

"Once there were walls at Babylon,
With none to tell the thought,
Or mark the hour, when stone on stone
Would be as naught on naught.

Strong were the walls of Babylon,
Too strong for only strength
To sense how might by might undone
Is less than might at length.

Gone are the walls at Babylon.
And yet the hungering dust
Yawns toward the walls that cloud the sun
Whereon our Sargons trust."

These poems, and the revolutionary lyrics, are matched by some superb pieces on Christ and his lost or betrayed gospel. The word "social" is well placed in the title. This singer speaks full often with prophetic power and passion.

Mr. Whitaker is frequently bitter—see his poem on "The Starred Mother."

"Is there a madness underneath the sun
More strange, more terrible? or any one
More pitiful than this, that for a star
A mother sells her flesh and blood to war?" . . .

The modern Pharisees, witting or unwitting, stir him to anger, as their forebears stirred Jesus and Shelley. But he has a sweeter, gentler side. Very lovely are the nature pieces in this book—full of sensitiveness and a fine expression of beauty. For his friends and dear ones the poet has a heart overflowing with tenderness and compassion. And again and again the religious fervor of this man's soul comes welling to the surface. Religion is the heart-core of his life—the spring from which his prophetic passion flows, the blazing fire in which his convictions for mankind are wrought.

Robert Whitaker has lived greatly and heroically. He is a saint who has endured much, and never lost his faith nor deserted his dream. As a poet he reminds one constantly of Edwin Markham. He lacks the potent eloquence and towering grandeur of this laureate at his best. His work all too frequently lacks distinction—that inevitableness of mood and expression which marks the immortally inspired bard. But there is much beauty, an easy and natural flow of song, a lyric spontaneity of feeling, and a genuine sincerity which moves the heart. Every reader will find poems in this book which will not be forgotten. There is a handful which should endure.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

The Survival of the Fittest

NOT UNDER FORTY. *By Willa Cather. 147 pp. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $2.00.*

In a Prefatory Note to this volume of six essays, Miss Cather explains the title, *Not Under Forty*. It "is meant to be 'arresting'. . . . It means that the book will have little interest for people under forty years of age." But right here, I must protest. I tried the essay "Joseph and His Brothers" on a class of undergraduates, any one of whom would have been horrified with the insinuation that she (or he) was approaching forty. They were all enamored of it immediately. Some time previously, however, the same class had read Mann's *Joseph and His Brothers*.

One can easily understand the allegory (if one may call it that!) implied in the title. Miss Cather has gone back to some of the great literary characters and retold their stories. She is at her best in this *genre*. Her imperishable work deals with the survival of the physically and spiritually fittest. The best of the pioneers according to her stories made Nebraska. The noble Archbishop at Santa Fé, although surrounded by both moral and spiritual incompetents, built a great diocese. The Joseph of the Biblical narrative would have suited her perfectly; she is at her best in retelling just such a story. Joseph surrounded by lesser spirits, overcoming seemingly impossible obstacles: the theme should be given to her. But her essay on Mann's great trilogy should be read by every lover of great prose as well as every lover of that immortal section in Genesis.

The essay entitled "148 Charles Street" tells the story of Miss Cather's meeting with a truly great woman, Mrs. James T. Fields. This friend of Emerson, Whittier, Longfellow, Dickens, and every other eminent man and woman of letters in her day, the wife of the well-known Boston publisher, deserves this magnificent essay; and she deserves more. Evidently Mrs. Fields did for Miss Cather what she did for every young writer of promise. Let us hope some day Miss Cather will sketch Mrs. Fields more fully. Right here, let me urge all who have not done so to acquaint themselves at once with M. A. De Wolfe Howe's delightful *Memoirs of a Hostess*, which gives the greater part of Mrs. Field's *Journal*. How Boston has changed since 148 Charles Street was America's first salon!

The essay on Sarah Orne Jewett takes the reader symbolically back, but those under forty will find much pleasure in that fine New England woman and also in her writings. A portion of this essay is a reprint from Miss Cather's preface to the Houghton Mifflin collection of Miss Jewett's stories. All these are worth reading—and rereading.

Of the remaining essays, the one dealing with Katherine Mansfield is worth much calm thought. Here is one great stylist giving an appreciative picture of another. This is how Miss Cather puts the whole matter: "The qualities of a second-rate writer can easily be defined, but a first-rate writer can only be experienced. It is just the thing in him which escapes analysis that makes him first-rate." How true of Katherine Mansfield! How true of Willa Cather!

After all, the world did not break up so completely "in 1922 or thereabouts" as Miss Cather would seem to indicate. "A thing of beauty" will live forever, as will any other truth. Thomas Mann belongs to "the forward-goers. . . . But he also goes back a long way. . . ." Just so! So long as mankind loves beauty and truth, just so long will the retelling of the past give poise and guidance to the future.

CHARLES A. HAWLEY

Return to Dreams

THE THRONE OF MERLIN. *By Robert C. Schaller. Chicago: Argus Books. 1937.*

The author, steeped in the mystic glories of the past, goes back through Tennyson and Mallory to all the glittering panoply of Arthur's Court itself. In the

title poem, Mage Merlin, tired of all the futile strife about the Table Round, foreseeing the end,

"on Modred's darksome brow
I read the omens of fatality
That doom this kingdom in its noblest hour
To battle and to chaos and to night."

contrives a throne of magic which shall transport him to the blissful Isles of Avilion; but the Lady of the Lake, the dread guardian of Arthur's fate, warns Merlin that his throne will bring him death and worse than death,

"Thou diest in that place—forevermore.
Blasted the life to come—forevermore.
And all that issue, aye,—forevermore."

Merlin, filled with fear, destroys his mystic handiwork,

"The throne became a blazing emerald pyre
While awesome voices roared within the blaze,
Or seemed to roar,"

and with his throne destroys his hopes.

"The Throne" is written in blank verse; but for the greater part, the other poems are in the sonnet or ballade meter,—the forms for Romantic writing. In them, Mr. Schaller shows his love for all that was glorious or beautiful in the past; however, he does not sigh and long for the return of the "good old days." He believes that all we need for a Romantic revival is more imagination in our daily lives, more of thoughts and less of things.

Probably the favorite of many who read the book will be the sonnet to Beethoven:

"The thunder of the onset of the sea
Rings through your tumult song titanic-spun,
As when the billows, everlastingly,
Trumpet their mighty music to the sun;
Or when around some craggy shore in play
Or surging at the barrier to their will,
They peal the sagas of some bygone day
In strains through which old Triton seems to shrill.

O music's sea and sea of beauty high,
Your billows beat against the shores of man,
Who hearkens—and half muses—though his eye,
A little child's, your margins cannot span;
Those far-off golden emperies descry,
Awaiting but his rule since time began."

And the sonnets addressed to Milton, Shakespeare, and Wagner catch the essence of their subjects no less than the one just quoted.

Too long for quotations, but among the best of the poems in ballade meter, is the "Ballade of Highways":

"O Prince, thy roads of ivory and gold
Are but the very dunnest of the dun—
For I would choose those wonderous ways untold,
The crimson highways of the setting sun!"

It is futile, however, and unjust to con over an author's pages, selecting here a line and there a stanza and saying "this is good," and "this is not." The only right way to judge a book is to read it. Mr. Schaller is mortal and therefore not infallible: in some cases his lines are a little too euphemistic—to make good sense; but such instances are infrequent and entirely forgivable, particularly when they are hidden beneath an overwhelming number of good, sound lines. Above all, Mr. Schaller should be commended for his courage in charging with lance and broadsword against the bombs and machine-guns of our present age.

LYLE CORS.

Correspondence

Frankwood E. Williams

Editor of UNITY:

The recent death of the renowned psychiatrist, Dr. Frankwood E. Williams, recalls his most interesting and enlightening book, *Russia, Youth and the Present Day World,* published in 1934. A significant statement from this work is:

"Has Russia anything to teach us? Russia has done more in fifteen years to raise the moral standards of her one hundred and sixty million people than American education has done in one hundred and fifty years or the Christian Church in 1933 years."

Dr. Williams' contrast of married life in America with that in Russia is worth pondering over! I hope that all who can do so will read this stimulating book, so provocative of deep thought, by one of the bravest and most useful men America ever cradled.

HENRIETTE POSNER.

Rochester, N. Y.

Immortalizing the Memory of War

Editor of UNITY:

Under the title, Jottings, the Editor recently stated that "Italian universities have been authorized to confer post mortem Ph. D. degrees on students who died in the Ethiopian war." This of course is an astounding thing, but is this any different from the rest of the world?

In the city of Athens there stood a monument dedicated to the Unknown God. The Athenians were a very religious people. They had many gods. They erected a monument to every god whom they knew by name; but lest some one be forgotten, they dedicated a monument to the Unknown God. In the city of Washington there is a monument dedicated to the Unknown Soldier. Let us consider just what is the reason for this monument. Why was it erected? Did they hope to commemorate any of the virtues of a soldier? Did they hope to perpetuate the idea of courage or strength or sacrifice? Was there anything in particular which they desired to emphasize? If so, what was it?

What did they know about the Unknown Soldier? Was it the unknown qualities of the Unknown Soldier that they wished to immortalize? It is understood that this is a monument to a dead soldier. It is some soldier who was sacrificed in the awful conflict. Is it to show respect for the dead or is it to make an appeal to the living? Who is it that is so much interested in the Unknown Soldier? Is it those who sent him to his death, and did not even know the time nor the place nor the name? Is it those who forced him into the war against his desires, where he died of sickness or wounds? Is it those who promised the soldier everything when he rode away to shoot and get shot for a dollar a day? Is it those who made money while he was gone and fought with every known agency and device against giving him a bonus when he came back? Under such conditions it is difficult to visualize the reverent attitude toward the Unknown Soldier.

Somewhere in our great land there was a boy: no

doubt a noble boy, with brothers and sisters and perhaps a wife and a child. He was not in a position of great authority. If so, he would not have been in the front of the battle. He was not a soldier of prominence. If so, he would not have been an Unknown Soldier. He was just a soldier,—the kind who is very important when he goes away but is of no importance when he comes back. And now there is dedicated a monument to the Unknown Soldier.

But the monument in the city of Athens was placed on Mars Hill. It was a place dedicated to the god of war. Can it be that this was a monument dedicated to the War-God? Is the Unknown God the God of War? Is this monument in the city of Washington a monument to the Unknown Soldier or is it a monument to the Unknown God? Is it to immortalize the acts of heroism and devotion or is it a military shrine, another link in the ruthless system which has no heart and no soul? Is it intended to nourish the dearest and tenderest memories in our national existence or is it a fraud brazenly put forth in this form to catch and hold the sentiments of the people and immortalize the memory of war?

Des Moines, Iowa. O. A. HAMMAND.

To the Child-Slavers

"But whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea."—Jesus.

The stone would shrink, the sea refuse—
Could but insensate Nature choose—
To serve so merciful an end
Where priest, and press, and statecraft blend
Their sophistries of word and will,
To slave and slay the children still.

—ROBERT WHITAKER.

[Addressed in particular to the Members of the New York State Assembly and their allies in Church and School, on the occasion of the defeat of the Child Labor Amendment.]

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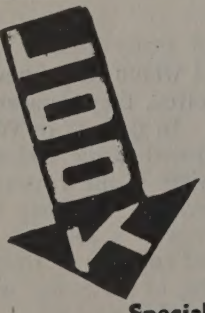

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